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# Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 A-01 OC-01 CCO-00 NSC-05

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4083
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
USMISSION NATO PRIORITY
JCS PRIORITY
USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY
USDELMC PRIORITY
USCINCEUR PRIORITY
CINCUSNAVEUR PRIORITY
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN PRIORITY
USDOCOSOUTH PRIORITY
DIRNSA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

S E C R E T ATHENS 4323

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR PFOR GR US
SUBJ: US-GREEK BASE NEGOTIATIONS: COMMENT ON FIRST PLENARY
OF FOURTH ROUND

REF ATHENS 4274

1. YESTERDAY'S OPENING SESSION OF THE FOURTH PLENARY ROUND PUT US BACK IN TERMS OF ATMOSPHERE TO THE FIRST SESSION OF ROUND ONE OVER A YEAR AGO. CALOGERAS AND THE ENTIRE GREEK DELEGATION WERE CLEARLY UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO PUT US ON THE DEFENSIVE AND TO EXPRESS THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S VIEW THAT THE US DRAFT WAS NOT "SIMILAR"
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TO THE US-TURKISH DCA AND WAS THEREFORE UNACCEPTABLE,

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EVEN AS A WORKING DOCUMENT, TO THE GREEK GOVERNMENT.
THE LANGUAGE USED BY CALOGERAS WAS UNUSUALLY BLUNT
FOR SO POLISHED A SPOKESMAN AND THERE WERE FEW SMILES
ON THE GREEK SIDE OF THE TABLE.

2. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES OUR OWN EFFORTS WERE AIMED AT
(A) MAKING CLEAR THAT WE FULLY ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLES
OF THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT AND THAT OUR DRAFT, TOGETHER
WITH ITS ANNEXES, REFLECTED THIS; (B) POINTING OUT IN
EMPHATIC TERMS TO THE GREEKS THAT THEIR OWN DRAFT
DEVIATED MATERIALLY FROM THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT AND
FROM THE TURKISH MODEL; (C) EXPLAINING TO THEM WHY,
IN VIEW OF THE DIFFERING CHARACTERISTICS OF OUR
FACILITIES AND MILITARY PRESENCE IN GREECE AND TURKEY
AND THE DISTINCTIVE NEGOTIATING HISTORY OF OUR
AGREEMENTS, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO DUPLICATE
WORD-FOR-WORD THE TURKISH MODEL IN GREECE.

3. ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT THINK THAT THE GREEK SIDE
IS QUITE AS INDIGNANT AS IT PROFESSES TO BE ABOUT
OUR DRAFT, WE DO NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE AMOUNT OF
SUSPICION, FOREBODING AND SENSITIVITY THAT UNDERLIES
GREEK ATTITUDES IN THE TRIANGULAR FIELD OF US-GREEK-
TURKISH RELATIONS. ALL COMPARISONS BECOME INVIDIOUS
IN THE GREEK MIND AND ULTERIOR MOTIVES LURK BEHIND
EVERY DEPENDENT CLAUSE. WE HAVE OUR WORK CUT OUT
FOR US IN CONVINCING THE GREEK GOVERNMENT THAT ANY
DIVERGENCE FROM THE TURKISH AGREEMENT IS NOT PERNICIOUS
AND INSPIRED BY AMERICAN FAVORITISM FOR TURKEY.

4. THIS IS WHAT WE ARE DOING AS QUICKLY BUT ALSO AS
PAINSTAKINGLY AS POSSIBLE IN THE WORKING GROUP
MEETINGS WHICH BEGAN YESTERDAY EVENING. HOPEFULLY
OUR WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO DEMONSTRATE IN THESE
SESSIONS BY MEANS OF POINT-BY-POINT COMPARISON THAT
OUR DRAFT IS FAITHFUL TO THE FRAMEOWRK AGREEMENT AND
THAT IT IN SOME RESPECTS REPRESENTS AN IMPROVEMENT
OVER THE TURKISH MODEL, WILL SOFTEN UP THE GREEK POSITION.
WE MUST HOWEVER FACE THE POSSIBILITY THAT FOR DOMESTIC
POLITICAL AS WELL AS FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS THE
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GREEK SIDE WILL CONTINUE TO INSIST ON A US-GREEK DCA
WHOSE PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE, ORGANIZATION AND GENERAL
PROVISIONS ARE VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL WITH THOSE OF THE
US-TURKISH DCA. WE CANNOT YET JUDGE THE FIRMNESS OF
THE GREEK POSITION IN THIS REGARD.

5. WHAT IS AS EVIDENT TO THE GREEK SIDE AS IT IS TO
US AT THIS STAGE IS THAT TIME IS WORKING FOR THE GREEKS

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FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT WE WANT TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO THAT CONGRESS WILL BE ABLE TO CONSIDER THE GREEK AS WELL AS TURKISH AGREEMENTS BEFORE IT RECESSES FOR THE SUMMER. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT ALMOST CERTAINLY DRAWS FROM THIS ASSUMPTION THE CONCLUSION THAT A PROTRACTED OR INCONCLUSIVE FOURTH ROUND WOULD BE MORE COSTLY TO THE US THAN TO GREECE.

6. IT WAS TO COUNTER THIS LINE OF GREEK THOUGHT THAT STEARNS DEVOTED A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF HIS OPENING REMARKS YESTERDAY TO THE IMPORTANCE FOR GREECE AS WELL AS THE US OF SPEEDILY CONCLUDING THESE NEGOTIATIONS. PERHAPS THE MOST ENCOURAGING REMARK MADE BY CALOGERAS DURING THE COURSE OF A GENERALLY NEGATIVE PRESENTATION WAS HIS STATEMENT THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT SHARED OUR DESIRE FOR PROMPT CONCLUSION OF A GREEK-US DCA. THIS WAS TO SOME EXTENT SUBSTANTIATED BY THE AMOUNT OF HOMEWORK THAT THE GREEK SIDE HAD EVIDENTLY DONE OVER THE WEEKEND IN ANALYZING OUR DRAFT. ALTHOUGH THE COMMENTS OF THE GREEK NEGOTIATOR WERE UNIFORMLY CRITICAL, THEY DID NOT SUGGEST A DESIRE TO PROCRASTINATE. IF THIS ATTITUDE IS BORNE OUT IN SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS, WE HAVE A REASONABLE CHANCE OF MEETING OUR PREFERRED TIME SCHEDULE. STEARNS

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